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855 Being always in the company of its own mother, the child
191 will learn her language first (52),

> 52. It is true that the boys will soon follow the father and will forget the maternal tongue. The mother herself, after having been married for some time, will perhaps speak only the idiom of the inhabitants of the maloca. For this reason the children will rarely know the maternal idiom. We have verified that, at most, they know only some words of it.

if the mother has not yet learned the idiom of her husband. The
866 boys, as soon as they have grown to about five years of age, free themselves from maternal care and will preferably follow the father /435/ hunting or fishing, or remain playing in groups in the forest, in the search for fruits, or around the rivers, swimming and fishing.

The girls, on the contrary, continue at the side and under the vigilancy of the mother herself (53),

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> 53. One Missionary noted that for the girl, used to being at the side of her own mother all the time, the life of the student living in the Mission school is very difficult, whereas the boys adapt more easily, without thinking of returning home.

helping her, according to their capacity, in her tasks. They go with the mother to the clearing, pull mandioca roots, return with their load of mandioca or firewood, or carrying some younger brother or sister, take care of the children, and even help in the preparation of the food.

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858 The girl, although destined to leave the nation and, as a wife, to establish a family in another tribe, is, however, an element of great economic value for her parents. In some cases [648] [466] the parents hand her over to the civilized for domestic service, in exchange for suitable recompense: upon her reaching puberty, however, they will go fetch her for the initiation rite and later for marriage, according to the customs of the tribe (54).

[115] 54. Pe. Humberto Limpens mentioned to us a case that happened shortly before 1947. Until the time of the marriage the girl remained working with the whites. The father had permitted this as payment for a shotgun.

736 If, by chance, an individual dies, leaving children in another povoado or maloca, one of his "brothers" (it might be a close relative, the tuxaua, or someone else), undertaking a long trip, if necessary, will go to look for the orphans, whose support and education will be entrusted to him.

866 The spirit of freedom in which the children are raised is extraordinarily great. They go wherever they desire, without permission from the parents or even notice beforehand (55).

[115] [648] 55. Frei Laureano da Cruz narrates how an imprudence by the capitão João Palácios, in the so-called "Província dos Encabelados" /Province of the Hairy Ones/ (because the Indians wore very long hair), aroused the resentment of the natives, who killed the capitão and many civilized. And he explains: "They are such a noble people that they will not tolerate a snap of the fingers, even from their own parents" ("Descobrimentos /Discoveries/," p. 98).

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866 They act as they please. They do not listen to the requests that the parents direct to them. They do not perform the tasks requested. The slightest whims of the child (56)

> 56. The child is the one who decides whether he is going to board in the school, whether he will not return the following year, whether he wants to leave during the course of the year, etc. The parents do or say nothing concerning these decisions.

are considered. From an early age they officially smoke and drink the fermented drinks at the caxirís. With such independence one might foresee the development of rebellious and quarrelsome types, which, in fact, does not happen. This is because, counterbalancing the spirit of autonomy, there is that of absolute adherence to the disciplinary laws of the tribe, a spirit that is developed with /436/ the beliefs and becomes firmly established through the example of the elders and the ceremonial practices.

Actually there is no school or official instruction, except for the "course of puberty initiation." The maloca, however, with its habitual life or the extraordinary one of the feasts, is a practical and social school in everything.

562 869 The daughter takes a "course in the domestic profession" at the side of her mother, watching her work, helping her, receiving her corrections. Upon reaching nubile age, she will be perfectly prepared to organize and supervise the new home, whereas a contemporary of hers among the civilized would manage this with difficulty. [797] At present, in the educational establishments of the Missions, they not only attend a real "course in home economics," but some even become skilled at tasks that are specialties of another tribe (57).

> 57. These tasks, however, which are outside the primitive pattern of the tribe, constitute knowledge that the mother either will not

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264 574 123 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Baluikuwa* to pay a courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Baluikuwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 758 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 571 866 [857] The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader – not necessarily the headman – makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 183 571 431 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance come to my notice: one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

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peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the origin traditions.

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. Men use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors.

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I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors.

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Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective during the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplementary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt.

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